

## Message Text

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TAGS: SOPN, US, CH, PFOR

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT VICTOR ZORZA COLUMN, OP-ED PAGE,  
WASHINGTON POST, OCTOBER 23, HEADED "KISSINGER IN PEKING:  
DOES TENG SPEAK FOR CHAIRMAN MAO?"

2. THE KISSINGER VISIT TO PEKING COINCIDES WITH A NEW  
TWIST IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SUCCESSION TO MAO, AMID SIGNS  
CALCULATED TO SUGGEST THAT HE IS BEING EDGED OUT OF POWER  
BY TENG HSIAO-PING, THE 70-YEAR-OLD DEPUTY PREMIER, WHO HAS  
MANAGED CHINA'S AFFAIRS DURING PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S ILLNESS.

3. A POLICY ISSUE WHICH HAS LAIN DORMANT FOR SOME TIME IS  
BEGINNING TO REEMERGE BETWEEN THE LINES OF THE CHINESE PRESS.  
THE PACE OF THE MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IS TO BE  
GREATLY SPEEDED UP, BUT THOSE LEADERS WHO ARGUE THAT THIS  
COULD BE DONE ONLY THROUGH THE RAPID CONSTRUCTION OF LARGE  
STEEL AND ENGINEERING INDUSTRIES ARE BEING DENOUNCED AS  
"REVISIONISTS". INSTEAD, THE OFFICIAL DIRECTIVES DEMAND  
THE CONSTRUCTION OF THOUSANDS OF SMALL ENGINEERING PLANTS,  
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SOMEWHAT IN THE MANNER OF THE BACKYARD STEEL FURNACES

WHICH WERE THE HALLMARK OF THE "GREAT LEAPFORWARD" IN THE LATE 50'S.

4. KISSINGER'S FIRST SECRET VISITS TO PEKING WERE ACCOMPANIED BY A SUCCESSION STRUGGLE WHICH BECAME ENTANGLED WITH A FIERCE LEADERSHIP CONFLICT OVER THE WHOLE DIRECTION OF CHINA'S FUTURE POLICY. MAO'S THEN HEIR APPARENT, LIN PIAO, LOST HIS POST--AND HIS LIFE--AND PEKING OPENED ITS GATES TO MR. NIXON. NOW IT IS DEPUTY PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING WHO WANTS TO WELCOME MR. FORD TO CHINA, EVIDENTLY IN THE FACE OF OBJECTIONS BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP.

5. PEKING SIGNALS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT TENG WANTS THE FORD TRIP TO GO AHEAD EVEN IF WASHINGTON FAILS TO LIVE UP TO ITS PROMISES, AS THEY ARE UNDERSTOOD IN PEKING, TO PROMOTE THE PROCESS OF TAIWAN'S RETURN TO THE MAINLAND. BUT PEKING'S OFFICIAL COMPLAINT ON THE EVE OF KISSINGER'S VISIT ABOUT THE "FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE" BY THE UNITED STATES IS A SIGNAL OF A DIFFERENT KIND. TRUE, THE MESSAGE OSTENSIBLY CONCERNED TIBET, BUT ITS RELEVANCE TO TAIWAN IS UNMISTAKABLE.

6. ON THE SURFACE, IT MAY SEEM THAT THE MESSAGE IS SIMPLY INTENDED TO CONVEY TO KISSINGER THAT HE SHOULD NOT TAKE PEKING FOR GRANTED. BUT, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PEKING STRUGGLE, IT IS MORE LIKELY TO MEAN THAT THE SIGNALS COMING FROM TENG SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS AN AUTHORITATIVE EXPRESSION OF AGREED POLICY. CERTAINLY ITS APPEARANCE AT THIS TIME SEEMS CALCULATED TO UNDERMINE THE APPEARANCE OF HIS OWN AUTHORITY HE HAS SOUGHT TO CONVEY.

7. THIS INTERPRETATION WOULD SEEM TO BE MORE IN KEEPING WITH THE VEILED CRITICISM OF TENG WHICH IS NOW APPEARING IN THE CHINESE PRESS. THE ATTACKS ON HIM FOLLOW A PERIOD DURING WHICH HE APPEARED TO BE VERY MUCH IN THE ASCENDANT, AFTER BEING RESCUED BY CHOU EN-LAI FROM THE STATUS OF "TRAITOR" TO WHICH HE HAS BEEN CONSIDERED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. INDEED, TENG'S MANAGEMENT OF THE

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COUNTRY'S AFFAIRS DURING ITS RECOVERY FROM THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION EARNED HIM THE HOSTILITY OF THE LEFT. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE GOVERNING BUREAUCRACY--MANY OF WHOSE MEMBERS HE RESTORED TO FAVOR--AND THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE, TO WHOM THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION WAS AN UNWELCOME DISTURBANCE, HAVE INCREASINGLY COME TO REGARD TENG AS THE COUNTRY'S SAVIOUR. MAO'S INCREASINGLY LONG AND FREQUENT ABSENCES FROM PUBLIC LIFE, AT A TIME WHEN CHOU WAS ALSO

ILL, SEEMED CALCULATED TO FOCUS THE SPOTLIGHT ON TENG AS THE COUNTRY'S REAL RULER AND MAO'S SUCCESSOR.

8. BUT THE CAMPAIGN NOW BEING WAGED IN THE CHINESE PRESS BY MEANS OF LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS SUGGESTS

THAT ALL THIS WAS BEING DONE AGAINST MAO'S WISHES. THE PRESS CAMPAIGN CENTERS ON TWO THIRTEENTH-CENTURY LITERARY-HISTORICAL CHARACTERS, ONE OF WHOM, THE LEADER OF AN PEASANT UPRISING, IS CLEARLY MEANT TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH MAO, WHILE THE OTHER, A "TRAITOR" AND SCHEMER, IS MEANT TO REPRESENT THE OPPOSITION TO MAO.

9. THE TRAITOR SUNG CHIANG WHO WANTED TO GRAB THE COMMAND OF THE UPRISING IS DEPICTED AS TRYING TO KEEP THE TRUE REVOLUTIONARY LEADER, CHAO KAI, OUT OF THE LIMELIGHT IN MUCH THE SAME WAY THAT MAO HAS BEEN KEPT OUT OF IT. SUNG (I.E. TENG HSIAO-PING) KEPT TRYING TO PERSUADE CHAO (I.E. MAO) TO PRESERVE HIMSELF BECAUSE "YOU ARE THE MASTER," INSTEAD OF "CARELESSLY" LEAVING THE MOUNTAIN FASTNESS OF LIANGSHANG.

10. BUT READERS OF THE CHINESE PRESS ARE BEING URGED TO SEE THROUGH SUNG (TENG), WHO WAS ONLY "PRETENDING" TO RESPECT CHAO (MAO). IN FACT, HE WANTED CHAO TO BE THE TOP LEADER "IN NAME ONLY" WHILE SEEKING TO CARRY OUT HIMSELF THE PUBLIC FUNCTIONS IN CHAO'S ABSENCE, THUS "INCREASING HIS OWN PRESTIGE TO THE DETRIMENT OF CHAO'S.

11. IN THE CHINESE POLITICAL JARGON, "ORGANISATIONAL" EXPOSURE MEANS EXPULSION FROM OFFICE--HARDLY A MEASURE THAT CAN BE TAKEN AGAINST A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICIAN. BUT IT COULD BE TAKEN AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING, AND THAT IS WHAT HIS ENEMIES ARE URGING.

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12. WHO ARE THEY? THE ISSUES ON WHICH THEY HAVE CHOSEN TO CHALLENGE HIM SHOWS THAT THEY ARE THEMEN OF THE LEFT IN THE LEADERSHIP. BECAUSE THE PRESS CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN BASED ON A STATEMENT ON THE 13TH CENTURY NOVEL, "WATER MARGIN," MADE BY MAO HIMSELF, IT MAY SEEM THAT THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING HAS BEEN LAUNCHED ON HIS ORDERS. BUT THE ARTICLES ALSO WARN MAO AGAINST BEING TAKEN IN BY TENG, WHO IS REPEATEDLY REPRESENTED AS ONLY WAITING FOR THE DEATH OF HIS MASTER TO TAKE FULL POWER, AND TO TURN HIS POLICIES UPSIDE DOWN.

13. THE LATEST OF THESE ARTICLES URGES MAO TO ACT WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME. "AS CHAO (I.E. MAO) LAY DYING," IT RECALLS, "HIS LAST WORDS BELIED SUNG'S (I.E. TENG HSIAO-

PING'S) ELIGIBILITY TO BECOME THE NATURAL MASTER OF LIANG-SHAN. ALAS, IT WAS TOO LATE. FOR BY THIS TIME SUNG HAD GRABBED ALL THE POWER."

14. MAO IS BEING TOLD BY THE MEN OF THE LEFT THAT HE OUGHT TO HELP THEM TO PRESERVE HIS LIFE'S WORK WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME. THE WAY IN WHICH THE CAMPAIGN IS DEVELOPING SUGGESTS THAT HE IS MORE INCLINED TO LISTEN TO THEM, EVEN THOUGH TENG HSIAO-PING MAY CLAIM TO SPEAK TO KISSINGER IN MAO'S NAME. (END TEXT) INGERSOLL

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